411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarõ) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they bind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [39] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Crqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucu are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim maja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (aeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope, the king and the [illegible] (Sarcorhamphus papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

724 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
● 276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in
000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing. Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

Food preparation.—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was caushi. The caushi was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was [755] caused by caushi and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

756 Shamanism

The chief function of the Mundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of Yuruparí during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting in a deep sleep by a magical spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial [755] functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or caushi, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain herbs and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to 756 heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During ● 276 the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco narcosis as do the

756 [276] Tenetehara and Tapirapé shamans.[24] This was done only when the shaman "traveled" to find the "mother of the game" in order to feed her. The shaman performed his services free of charge and was in no way liberated from the work of the men. He enjoyed prestige due to his position as a curer and also due to fear of him as a potential sorcerer.

754 Only the shaman had the sorcerer's power. Others could learn the effective techniques, but they were not able to launch the evil object into the air or endow it with its malignant force. He was also capable of turning himself into a jaguar and creating other jaguars that he sent against people. The penalty for sorcery was death. This severity is explained by the Mundurucú, who say, "If we had no sorcerers there would be no sickness and people would not die so fast. So we have to kill them." At present, only men practice shamanism and are recognized as being shamans and only men are killed as sorcerers, but Tocantins mentions three cases of women accused of witchcraft in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[25]

[763] All sickness and death were believed to be caused by sorcery, but it was only when a few people died that a powerful shaman was asked to detect the sorcerer. Only another shaman could do this because "the shaman is able to see everything." The shaman might not immediately tell the

24. Wagley, 1942.

25. Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109-111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the *yakíp*, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Munduruců, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Munduruců suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the *yakíp*, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauši*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauši* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauši* is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauši;* the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

The process of extracting a *cauši* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauarí tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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to see the *cauši* within the patient's body, and he is considered to be in a state of intense concentration. During this period the many observers of the cure fall silent, and even the children are hushed. After completing his examination and identification of the *cauši* lodged within the patient's body, the shaman blows clouds of smoke over him. This is an essential part of the cure, for the tobacco smoke is believed to dislodge the *cauši* from its place deep within the sick person and to bring it nearer to the surface, from where it can be easily extracted. Once the shaman has accomplished this end, he commences to massage the patient's body, stroking inward toward the point where the pain is localized. At the completion of the massaging the *cauši* is believed to be directly below the skin and just above the source of pain. The shaman quickly applies his mouth to this point and sucks noisily at the patient's skin. He then draws away and deftly removes the *cauši* from his mouth, into which he has supposedly sucked it, and holds it out in his open palm for all to observe. He examines it with great care for some time and throws it into a fire, where it is thought to be completely destroyed. The object exhibited by the shaman is usually a small piece of wood or the pit of a palm fruit. The sleight of hand involved apparently requires no great ingenuity, but everybody is firmly convinced that the shaman has really extracted an evil object from the patient. I was unable to induce any shaman to reveal the innermost secrets of his art, but I am convinced that the shaman, too, believes that he extracts *cauši*, elusive though his reasoning may be.

The sole deviation from the above procedure occurs during the extraction of a very large and dangerous *cauši*. The shaman localizes the object and brings it to the surface of the body in the usual manner, but he extracts it with a quick, grabbing motion of the hand.

The *cauši* is visible to the shaman both when flying freely through the air and when lodged in the patient's body. Ordinary persons can see it only after the shaman has extracted it. There are ten reported varieties of *cauši*, each of which represents a type of disease recognized by the Mundurucú. The *cauši* is believed to wreak considerable damage while in the sick person, and its extraction and destruction is not sufficient for a full recovery. This can only be through the application of herbal remedies, each of which is a specific for a certain type of *cauši*. These medicines are thought by the Mundurucú to be either "hot" or "cold"; the *cauši* is believed to cause considerable internal bleeding, and hot medicines remove this old blood from the body, and on the other hand, cold medicines reduce fever and alleviate pain.

The following is a list of the ten varieties of disease recognized by the Mundurucú and a description of the *cauši* believed to cause each and the medicinals used to repair their damage.

1. *Dau* (leg) *pipi* (pain), or pain in the leg, is caused by a *cauši* carved in the shape of a sting ray and made from its tail. This *cauši* lies on the floor in the doorways of houses and waits for an unwary person to step on it. Although it causes intense pains in the leg, its effects are not fatal. To cure the aftereffects of *dau*

/33 cont./

sweet manioc (Manihot sp.—palmata?)	makachi
" " white variety	makachi taritat
" " yellow variety	makachi potpot
papaya (Carica papaya)	asāu a
" purple	asāu rom rom (asāu rem rem)
mango (Mangifera indica)	māga, māka
manicuera (Manihot sp.?)	maso; manikue
" purple-leaf variety	maso
" white-leaf "	maso yubritat
bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima)	masok
" yellow variety	masok pekpek
" purplish-leaf variety	masok tchukumai
" large-leaf variety	masok yairupnyen
" purple-leaf variety (paraíso)	masok paraisu
" white variety	masok tatya ūm ūm at
" small-leaf variety	masok anan
watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), red flesh	barīchi, burīti-a
" white-flesh variety	barīchi a biu chep nyen a a
" small variety	barīchi an an a
" purple-flesh variety	barīchi rem rem a
maize (Zea mays)	mura, mora
" hard grain	mora tyatya (ta)
/34/ soft grain	mora tya am am (ta); mora hat
peanut (Arachis hypogaea)	wenambene
pepper (Capsicum)	achi (a)
" green pepper variety	achi chichi (a)
" odoriferous variety	achirew
" red-pepper variety	chi kaí (a)
" round variety	achi kuretanyen (a)
[276] tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum)	he; e
caladium (Aracea sp.), bush variety, planted	potirit
" dragonaroid variety	kurudyudyut
timbo vine (Paullinia? Serjania?)	sī ok, sī ok papa
urucú (Bixa orellana)	tyuku (a)